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RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9518

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

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DEPARTMENT PASS USINT CAIRO

E.O. 11652: DECON UPON RECEIPT
TAGS: PFOR, BE, EEC, XF, ENGR
SUBJECT: BELGIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OIL CRISIS,THE US,
THE USSR, AND ISRAEL

REF: BRUSSELS 7516

1. TWO LEADING BELGIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE CO-SPONSORED A PUBLIC OPINION POLL TESTING POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE OIL CRISIS, ITS CAUSES AND ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF GOVERNMENTAL ACTION, ISRAEL, THE US, AND THE USSR, AND THE INTERNATIONAL OIL COMPANIES. WHATEVER DISTORTIONS WERE BUILT INTO THE POLL BY ITS DESIGNERS AND HOWEVER CONTRADICTORY SOME OF THE RESULTS APPEAR, THE RESULTS AS PUBLISHED JANUARY 3 AND 4 ARE OPEN TO INTERPRETATION AND FUTHER PUBLICITY ABOARD AS SHOWING AN UNEXPECTEDLY STRONG TENDENCY TO BLAME THE US AND ESTECIALLY THE INTERNATIONAL (READ US) OIL COMPANIES FOR THE ARAB BOYCOTT. THE RESULTS ALSO SHOW SURPRISINGLY STRONG SUPPORT FOR TAKING ACTIONS AGAINS ISRAEL TO WIN ARAB FAVOR AND FOR NATIONALIZING THE BELGIAN PETROLEUM INDUSTRY.

2. THE POL WAS ADMINISTERED TO 1500
"REPRESENTATIVE" BELGIANS OF ALL REGIONAL,
SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND LINGUISTIC SECTORS BETWEEN DECEMBER
12 AND 19, I.E. BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GREATER
AVAILABILITY OF ARAB OIL AT GREATLY INCREASED PRICES.
THE SPONSORS OF THE POLL ARE THE BRUSSELS DAILIES LE
SOIR (MASS CIRCULATION INDEPENDENT) AND DE STARDAARD
(IMPORTANT CATGFZW). THE COMMERCIAL RESEARCH AGENCY
IS THE UNIVERSITY INSITUTE FOR PUBLIC OPINION TESTING
(INUSOP) LOOSELY AFFILIATED WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF
BRUSSELS.*THE OPINION STUDY IS DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS
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COVERING IMPLICATIONS FOR (A) FOREIGN POLICY AND (B) DOMESTIC POLICY.

3. RESPONDENTS WERE ASKED WHETHER THEY THINK THE ARAB BOYCOTT WAS MOST INFLUENCED BY THE US--TO WEAKEN THE CONOMY OF EUROPE, THE USSR--TO WEAKEN WESTERN COUNTIRES, OR THE OIL COMPANIES -- FOR UNSPECIFIED REASONS. THE RESULTS SHOW THAT 39.5 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS

CREDIT THE OIL COMPANIES WITH THE PRIMARY INFLUENCE,
21.3 PERCENT THE US, AND 25.9 PERCENT THE USSR. WHILE THESE
PROPORTIONS PREVAILED NATIONALLY, FLANDEERS GAVE THE HIGHEST
VOTE TO THE OIL COMPANIES (41.5 PERCENT) AND BRUSSELS THE
LOWEST (32.8PERCENT). WHILE THE RESPECTIVE ATTRIBUTION OF
BLME REMAINED THE SAME REGARDLESS OF AGE GROUP OR SOCIAL CONDITION,
YOUNGER PEOPLE WERE MORE INCLINED THAN OLDER PEOPLE TO BLAME
THE US AND THE REVERSE WAS TRUE WITH RESPECT TO THE
USSR.

4. ASKED TO IMAGINE THAT THEY WERE MINISTERS OF GOVERN-MENT CHOOSING BETWEEN OPTIONAL COURSES OF (A) TAKING MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO ISRAELI AGREEMENT TO EVACUATE THE ARAB TERRITORIES SO THAT THE ARAB COUNTIRES WOULD CONSIDER BELGIUM A FRIEND, OR (B) TAKING MEASURES OF REPRISAL AGAINST THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO MAKE THEM SUPPLY MORE OIL, 44.1 PERCENT VOTED FOR PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND 31.2 PERCENT FOR MEASURES AGAINST THE ARAB COUNTIRES. IN FLANDERS THESE RESULTS WERE 51.2 PERCENT AND 26.7 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY.

5. THE POLLSTERS SUGGESTED NO SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF POSSIBLE MEASURES TO PRESSURE THE ISRAELIS AND THE RESPONDENTS APPEAR TO HAVE VOLUNTEERED NONE. ON THE OTHER HAND, 7.8 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS VOLUNTARILY SUGGESTED THE IDEA OF REDUCING DEVELOPMENTAL AID TO ARAB COUNTRIES AND 1.8 PERCENT SUGGESTED EXPELLING ARAB WORKERS (MOSTLY ALGERIAN AND MOROCCANS). WHEN ASKED TO REACT TO A PROPOSAL FOR MEASURES INCLUDING EXPULSION, 25 PERCENT APPROVED. THIS FIGURE ROSE TO 40.3 PERCENT IN THE BRUSSELS AREA WHERE THESE WORKERS ARE CONCENTRATED. SIMILARLY, IN THE BRUSSELS AREA, AND INVERSE TO THE OUTCOME NATIONALLY, 43 PERCENT VOTED FOR MEASURES AGAINST THE ARAB COUNTRIES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VERSUS 31.5 PERCENT FOR PRESSURE ON THE ISRAELIS.

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- 6. QUESTIONS POSED IN PART I OF THE STUDY COVER FOUR AREAS:
- --GOV FOREIGN POLICY MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO ISRAEL AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES;
- --ARAB MOTIVES (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC) FOR THE BOYCOTT;
- --FOREIGN INFLUENCE BEHIND THE ARAB RESTRICTIONS;
- --AID TO THE NETHERLANDS BY THE OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
- 7. RESPONDENTS WERE OFFERED A CHOICE AMONG THREE MOTIVATIONS FOR THE ARAB RESTRICTIONS:
- -- TOSECURE HIGHER PRICES FOR CRUDE OIL;
- --TO PROTECT RESERVES:
- --TO INFLUENCE AND CONFLICT WITH ISRAEL.

WHILE RESPONDENTS COULD AND DID CITE ALL THREE MOTIVATIONS, THE VOTE BY PRIORITY MOTIVE WAS 50.4PERCENT FOR (POLTICAL) INFLUENCE AND THE CONFLICT, 35.1 FOR (ECONOMIC) AUGMENTATION OF OIL PRICES, AND 11.2 PERCENT FOR PROTECTION OF RESERVES.

8. ON AID TO THE NETHERLANDS, RESPONDENTS WERE ASKED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN HELPING HOLLAND AND "STAYING OUT OF A PROBLEM BETWEEN HOLLAND AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES." THE VOTE WAS 57.9PERCENT FOR HELPING AND 36 PERCENT FOR NOT HELPING. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES SHOWED A 64.8 PERCENT TO 26.8 PERCENT RATIO IN THE BRUSSELS AREA, VERSUS 56.7 PERCENT TO 37.3 PERCENT IN FLANDERS AND 57.3 PERCENT TO 37.3 PERCENT IN WALLONIA.

9. IN PRESENTING THESE RESULTS, LE SOIR COMMENTED EDITORIALLY UNDER THE HEADLINE "A PRUDENT INTERPRETATION IS IN ORDER." THE REPLIES, OBSERVED LE SOIR EDITOR TACQUENIER, DO NOT PERMIT DRAWING DEFINITIVE CONSLUSIONS ON BELGIAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. THE QUESTIONS WERE HYPOTHETICAL AND POSED TO PEOPLE CONFUSED AND FEARFUL ABOUT GAS AND HEATING SHORTAGES. THE REPLIES ARE INTERNALLY INCONSISTENT ONE WITH ANOTHER, E.G. THE STRENGTH OF THE VOTE IN FAVOR OF HELPING THE NETHERLANDS IS NOT READILY RECONCILED WITH THE AMOUNT OF SUPPORT GIVEN TO PRESSUREISRAEL. THERE IS A SIMILAR INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN THE "ECONOMIC"BALM GIVEN THE OIL COMPANIES AND THE FINDING THAT THE ARAB MOTIVATION IS PREDOMINANTLY POLITICAL.

10. EMBASSY COMMENT: AIDING HOLLAND (FAVORED) WOULD

ALSO HAVE INVITED ARAB HOSTILITY (NOT FAVORED). WE ARE STRUCK BY THE STRUCTURAL IMCOMPATILILITY OF QUESTION 2 (ARAB MOTIVATION) AND 3 (FOREIGN RESPONSIBILITY). IN QUESTION THREE, RESPONDENTS ARE ASKED TO RANK THREE THESES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO REQUIRE THEM TO ADOPT ONE OR MORE OF THEM AS GIVEN. DESPITE THE LIMITATION OF THIS PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH STUDY, WE SEE IT AS AN INDICATION OF PUBLIC OPINION DISORIENTATION IN BELGIUM, AND PROBABLY ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE US AND OF INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES. PART II OF THE BELGIAN RESEARCH STUDY, ON DOMESTIC POLICY IMPLICATIONS, RATIONING VERSUS OTHER LIMITATIONS, POSSIBLE NATIONALIZATION OF THE OIL INDUSTRY, ETC. WILL BE REPORTED IN SEPARATE MESSAGE. TOGETHER WITH EMBASSY ASSESSMENT.STRAUSZ-HUPE

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